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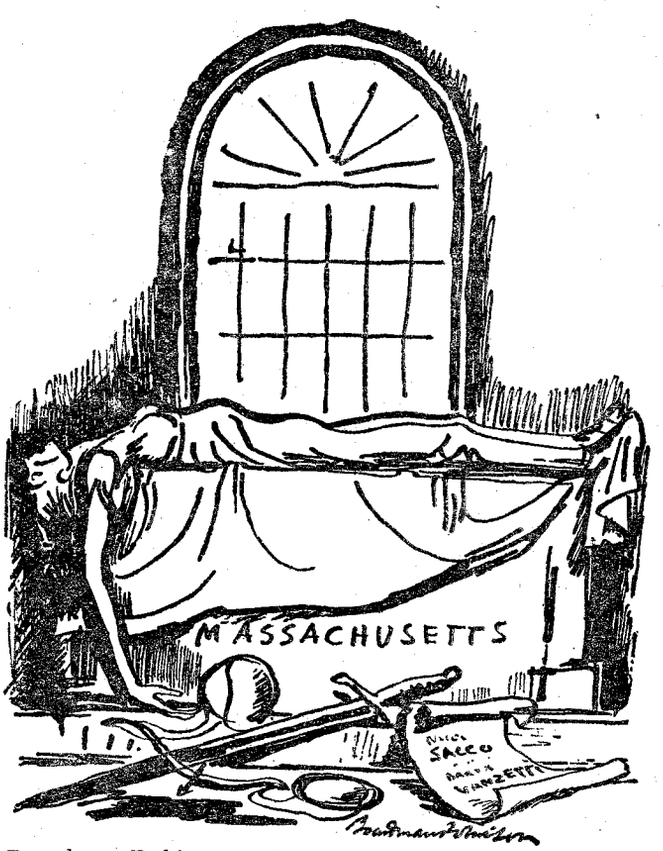
Twenty Years After

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THIS week the federal loyalty check begins. In response to President Truman's order, backed by $11,000,000 voted in Congress, 1,900,000 employees of the executive agencies and departments will supply the government with fresh fingerprints and information about their records and connections. Each department or agency is responsible for assembling the facts about its own workers, but the facts will be examined for evidence of disloyalty by the Civil Service Commission, the FBI, and other federal intelligence offices. In doubtful cases a full inquiry will be made by the FBI and the findings reported to the head of the department in which the suspect is employed. The department head may suspend the employee in question, but the case will be passed upon by a departmental review board and also, in case of an appeal, by a three-man federal board of review whose decision will be final.

This, broadly, is the set-up. Compared with the summary methods used to root out disloyalty in many foreign lands—including several safely remote from the Russian sphere—the methods to be applied in Washington are manifestly moderate. By way of contrast, I call the reader's attention to the details of British military rule in Palestine, presented by Lillie Shultz on a later page. In America persons suspected of subversive political views are not arrested or imprisoned. They are not even dismissed from government jobs without being given at least a technical chance to defend their records. Nor are they punished beyond loss of jobs when they are found guilty. I say this in fairness to the government; but I repudiate as disingenuous and dangerous the notion, frequently advanced these days by persons who call themselves liberal, that the restrained procedures used in Washington somehow justify the loyalty check itself and the purposes behind it.

On the contrary, the government of the United States has no excuse whatsoever for carrying out a purge on the scale promised, with or without safeguards. The ruthless measures of repression employed in Eastern Europe are viewed with profound disapproval in Washington; those in Palestine have been tactfully ignored. But I would suggest that the mild repressions now being carried into effect in Washington are less defensible than either. This country is not in revolution; it is not in the grip of civil disorder. The government is not threatened from any direction. If a political drift is discernible in the country, it is to the right. The Communists, however irritating, are neither more numerous nor more aggressive than in years past. Only hysteria or a calculated desire to make political capital out of the general fear of Russia can explain the institution of an organized system of thought control in the federal departments.



Boardman Robinson in The Nation *of September 7, 1927*

For the loyalty check is not designed merely to rid the government of Communists and Communist sympathizers. If it were, strict libertarians might still con-

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demn it, though the loyal followers of Stalin have done their best to rob such defenders of valid arguments. But the record of recent political dismissals shows how catholic and elastic is the federal definition of disloyalty. The recent announcement that ten more persons had been ousted from the State Department included an official estimate that 831 workers had been dismissed as political "suspects" from the government service as a whole; this before the new check had even begun. How many of them were suspected of communism was not mentioned, but the State Department made no pretense that the twenty persons so far ousted from its staff were even supposed to be Communists. They were dropped, it said, for "security reasons," without further specification.

It is a fact widely known in Washington that of the first ten dismissed several had no idea what charges had been brought against them. Some of them are likely to take their cases into court. I. F. Stone reported in *PM* on July 2 an astonishing conversation with Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy, the official handling the department purge. A few lines are worth reprinting:

> [He] did not think the ten were Communists, nor did he think more than a few might be called fellow-travelers, but he was dubious about their associations.... When I asked whether they would be told the evidence against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said no....

In other words, even under the methods applied in stable and comfortably conservative America, government employees are losing their jobs on charges which are never specified and are thus impossible to disprove.

And while the departments rid themselves of suspects, the federal courts carry through trials which are obviously political in purpose, whatever legal bases may be found. The conviction of the Communist Gerhart Eisler for passport fraud was no doubt technically justified. He did use a fictitious name, and he did conceal his political affiliation to get out of France and into the United States in 1941. The jury ignored the fact that every hunted Communist attempting to escape the Gestapo and the Vichy police did the same thing if he could. The recent case of the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee raised other technical issues, but it was decided on similarly political grounds. An analysis of the trial by I. F. Stone, who discussed the Marzani conviction in *The Nation* on July 12, will appear in an early issue. Essentially, for all their legal differences, these cases are of a piece. They are clearly part of a sweeping attack by the government on Communist and left groups; the law is invoked where other, simpler methods are lacking.

On August 23, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti died in the electric chair, and American justice proved how low it

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could sink under the weight of anti-radical, anti-alien emotion. Before he died, Vanzetti, in a letter to a friend, said: "What I wish more than all else in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate may . . . serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain." Today, on this twentieth anniversary of his death, we must bitterly acknowledge that Vanzetti's wish has not been fulfilled. The "forces of freedom" seem to have been demobilized, while small men in office exploit the whipped-up fears of Congressmen and voters. So far hysteria has not swept the country into the extremes of Palmer's "red raids" and the Lusk committee—and the conviction of the two Italian Anarchists. But we are well on the way.

The Shape of Things

ARAB LEADERS FROM THE MUFTI ON DOWN disclaim responsibility for the sudden outburst of attacks on Jews that seemed likely last week to add the horrors of inter-communal slaughter to the rigors of police rule in Palestine. The Mufti characteristically blamed the Jews for his followers' violence. But Arab leaders in Palestine seemed puzzled by the ugly explosion and have tried, some at the risk of their lives, to prevent continued attacks and avoid provocative statements. The decision of Haganah to punish the Arabs responsible for the killings was itself ill-advised in spite of British failure to do so. However scrupulous the Jewish forces intended to be, their counter-attacks inevitably took on the aspect of reprisals rather than police action. And, also inevitably, they killed several innocent Arabs who happened to get in the way of their bombs. As this is written, the violence seems to have simmered down. Whether the Moslem feast days provided merely temporary distraction or the judgment of sober leaders of both groups has actually prevailed, the next few days will show. One thing is certain. Communal warfare can only damage the political hopes of Jews and Arabs alike. While it reflects no particular credit on the British, its chief result will be to convince the world—and especially the United Nations—that the two peoples cannot safely be left to rule themselves. So obvious is this that some leaders in both groups have hinted at "outside"—meaning British—instigation. But no evidence has appeared to back up the insinuation. A more likely explanation is the all-pervading tension of a country living under tight police control while its ultimate fate remains suspended somewhere between Geneva and Lake Success.

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INDIA'S NEW DAWN CAME UP LIKE THUNDER last week in a fashion which must have set a-wagging many a grizzled head among the disciples of the late Mr. Kipling. This was to have been expected. An empire was dying in chaos: two new states were being born to a violent heritage they were ill equipped to cope with. But now that the rioting has subsided it is possible to bring this advent of India's independence into clearer perspective. England has left India with no ifs and buts and without the shame of a colonial war. Other empires might take note. Two Indias have emerged without the horrors of the civil war which a few months ago seemed probable. Credit must go to England's statesmen and to India's statesmen: to the Labor government and Mountbatten, to Gandhi and Nehru. The problems that the new governments face are vast enough, as Shiva Rao points out in his article on page 179. They are problems of food, of the reorganization of a complex system of administration, of introducing new methods of agriculture and industry. They are problems of vested interests, both political and economic, and of bringing to realization the ideals of social justice for which many of India's leaders have fought. But they are now India's problems, and for the first time India has a chance to solve them. Let no friends of freedom become impatient if the process is slow and arduous.

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THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN OF A political party has only one function that we know of: to win votes for the ticket—by organization, by personal standing, by persuasion, and by strategy. This simple fact makes a mystery of the President's apparent leaning toward Clinton P. Anderson for that post in the Democratic hierarchy. As director of the 1948 campaign, to succeed the ailing Robert E. Hannegan, Mr. Anderson would bring to the party the gift of the Solid South, which is rather like presenting a quart of milk to Elsie the Cow. Where Democratic votes are sorely needed, we cannot see Mr. Anderson as the man to get them. Voters who resented price control will find more appeal among Republicans, who really killed OPA, than in Mr. Anderson, who as Secretary of Agriculture merely undermined it. Proponents of the Taft-Hartley labor act will not be wooed from the party that pushed it through Congress by a Cabinet member who only urged the President to sign it. And those who want an inequitable tax bill will regard the Republicans as their best bet, even if the Democratic campaign is piloted by a man who shares their view on the subject. In short, Anderson would win over a few conservatives, while among trade unionists and liberals his appointment would have the rousing effect of a tepid washrag. Hannegan may be no more than the Missouri politician that Harold Ickes so often and so unflatteringly paints him, but along with his assistant, Gael Sullivan, he constantly urged on the President a legislative program for housing, lower prices, and unhampered trade unionism. He had the political sense to know what his fellow-Missourian had better recall—that when the country wants to buy tory government it prefers it in the reliable Grand Old Package.

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LOADING THE THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF THE Brink family into a 1931-model car, Los Angeles County officials recently started the clan on the long road back to Bartlesville, Oklahoma. For weeks Ma Brink had held out against returning to Oklahoma, for the family, after five years' sojourn, had acquired legal residence in California. But the county officials, with a vast experience in such cases, finally "induced" the Brinks to leave with the promise of four new tires and tubes, a new battery, a tail light, and a connecting rod for the jalopy. With characteristic canniness, the officials refused to give the Brinks a lump sum for expenses en route, but arranged that they should receive small stipends from other welfare agencies along the line of march. No sooner had the Brinks arrived in Oklahoma than the welfare officials there disclaimed responsibility, on the ground, of course, that the Brinks were now legal residents of California. At last report the Brinks were headed westward again on Highway 66, made famous in "The Grapes of Wrath." The first case of its kind to occur since the war, the Brink story was treated in the Los Angeles press in a manner calculated to serve notice that the lush days of war-time prosperity were over. Somewhat out of practice in the fine art of shuffling relief cases back and forth across state lines, the Los Angeles welfare officials are obviously preparing for the period of stress and strain that lies ahead. Let future historians note the saga of the Brinks and their eleven children as the first adumbration of the "hard times" of 19—!

*

THE LIVELY FEUD THAT HAS DEVELOPED in the ranks of the Republican Party in Oregon shows how sharply the public-power issue cuts across party lines in the Northwest. Guy Cordon, the senior Senator from Oregon, is a conservative Republican who acquired, in his long service under Charles McNary, an appreciation of the vital part played by public power in the development of the Northwest. Carrying the fight for the Bonneville Power Administration budget in the Eightieth Congress, Senator Cordon finally succeeded in rounding up commitments for a quite adequate appropriation. It now develops, however, that this compromise was sabotaged, at the zero hour, by a fellow Oregonian and Republican, Representative Lowell Stockman of Pendleton. After Senate and House conferees, including both Cordon and Stockman, had agreed on the compromise proposal, Stockman finally joined forces with New York's John Taber in the coalition that eliminated appropriations for the McNary-LaGrande transmission line, the Detroit-Eugene line, the Eugene-Reedsport line, the Reedsport-Coos Bay line, and the Goldendale-Detroit line. Indignant over this betrayal, Senator Cordon has placed the blame for "a thoroughly inadequate budget" for Bonneville squarely on Stockman. As a result, it seems likely that the Second Congressional District in Oregon will have a new Representative in 1948.

THE ARMY'S CIVIL AFFAIRS DIVISION ALMOST made a terrible mistake. It almost produced "All My Sons," a Communist play, for native audiences in Germany, Austria, and Japan. How did the army find out "All My Sons" was a Communist play? A. H. Sorenson, national commander of the Catholic War Veterans, said it was in a telegram to Secretary of War Kenneth C. Royall. How did Mr. Sorenson find out the play was Communist? It was so classed by one of his organization's field investigators who took in the show and prepared a résumé of it. Mr. Sorenson himself "is too busy to go to the theater." He is also too busy, it seems, to read the New York drama critics. They banded together last winter to name "All My Sons" the best production of the season. Obviously a knavish lot—Atkinson, Barnes, Mantle, and the rest: here was a play about a war profiteer who shoots himself, and they didn't recognize it—or *chose* not to recognize it—as Communist propaganda. Well, accounts have been settled. In response to Mr. Sorenson's protest the army has reexamined its decision and concluded, in the words of one of its spokesmen, "that we were a little off base." Signals off! The show must not go on! Anybody got a good play about a war-profiteer who dies of coronary thrombosis and goes to heaven?

The Pleasant Boomerang

THE panic in Hollywood at the announcement of the new British import tax of 75 per cent on American films must have surprised a great many Americans who weren't aware of the fact, though some say it is just a Hollywood theory, that the American film industry has been making only enough in this country to cover expenses, in spite of record attendance (now on the decline), and has been getting its profits mainly from British rentals. It will be a blow, particularly to anti-British isolationists, to discover that even that great private enterprise, American Daydream, Inc., has been dependent for support on Great Britain, of all countries.

One can't help feeling that hurt pride as well as the prospect of a flat pocket-book played a part in the reaction of the American film industry. Eric Johnston's statements have been marked by a sense of injury, and the action of the "big eight" canceling further shipments of movies to Britain indefinitely—which will have no effect for six months—was clearly a case of over-response. It must have been a shock to them to discover that the British public had not even rioted, let alone thrown out the Socialist government, at the prospect of being deprived of American films. On the contrary, when the London *Evening News* took a poll of the man in the street, only two out of twenty interviewed said they preferred American to British pictures, and of the others "nearly all were agreed that the loss of the majority of

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American second-feature rubbish would be a good thing."

Theater operators and film producers in Great Britain are opposed to a tariff of such proportions, for economic reasons. At the present rate of production, it is not possible to provide enough British films to take the place of those now imported from America, and the result would be the closing down of theaters and, as they point out, a loss in entertainment taxes. The effect of such a tariff would, moreover, almost certainly be prejudicial to the distribution of British films in America. The government, no doubt, will back down a bit, and the American film companies will calm down. A compromise will be reached. And the whole episode may turn out to have a salutary effect on the complacency with which Hollywood turns out "second-feature rubbish."

It seems justifiable to assume that the British move had cultural as well as economic motives. As long ago as January 16 Sir Stafford Cripps hinted that Britain might curb the importation of Hollywood films unless their quality were improved. "I am certain there are millions of filmgoers in this country," he said, "who are anxious to see the best films from other countries, and I emphasize the world 'best.' " Sir Stafford was not merely speaking for himself. More than one observer has noted that there has been a revolution in British taste during the years of trial. Whether as factor or result or both, British film-making has been going through an exciting renaissance—it was described recently in a very interesting article by Cyril Ray in *Harper's*. This means among other things that the British have a standard of their own by which to judge the American product.

The British deliberately export only the best of their films. It seems likely that any compromise arrangement in the present dispute will tend toward a similar discrimination in American films. And it is just possible that if our "second-feature rubbish" can no longer be palmed off on Britain, it won't seem worth while to make it just for American consumption.

When Eric Johnston said self-righteously that the British should not expect to get a dollar's worth of films for 25 cents, an English movie critic retorted that "for too long we have been paying a dollar for 25 cents' worth of entertainment." *Touché*—and so have we. Mr. Johnston also said, ominously, that the Attlee program on American films "may have set in motion a chain reaction which could blast the hope of all trade revival around the world." It could, on the contrary, set in motion a chain reaction by which—O happy irony—Americans would be freed, by their British cousins, from the torture of the other half of the double feature.

Lining Up the Americas

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IF THE United States delegation has its way at Rio de Janeiro, a hypothesis only slightly less probable than at previous pan-American gatherings, the current conference on hemispheric defense will be long on platitude and short on achievement. The meeting itself is both an anti-climactic admission of our failure to quarantine a politically diseased Argentina and a vague promise of more positive action at the conference to be held—provided everyone behaves well at Rio—at Bogotá in January.

The intention of Secretary of State Marshall and his advisers is to limit the conference to the signing of a treaty for which there is no compelling need. By the terms of various agreements dating back to 1938 the countries of the hemisphere are already committed to the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to consult each other in cases of aggression, and agreed on the principle of mutual defense. And beyond these commitments they are all bound by the Charter of the United Nations. As a restatement of these aims a formal defense treaty can do no harm, but in the matter of enforcement it is unlikely to make a peso's worth of difference.

This is true even if the conference overrides, as it surely will, the Argentine plan to invoke the same unanimity rule that has stultified the U. N. Security Council, because the American proposal is little more effective. General Marshall favors action on the basis of a two-thirds' vote, which would be excellent were it not for the proviso that any military action would be binding only on those who voted for it. Since there is nothing to prevent any state from going to the aid of another even now, little is added by an understanding that two-thirds of them may do so if they feel like it.

Underlying the American reluctance to go beyond this instrument at the moment is Marshall's failure to get a pet army project through Congress. I refer, of course, to the plan for standardizing the military machines of Latin America by furnishing them generously with our own surplus equipment. This was to have been at once the basis for implementing a defense treaty and, in the case of Argentina at least, a persuasive argument in favor of signing. There is no doubt that the refusal of Congress to act on the measure has left the Secretary marking time and slightly the worse for embarrassment, for there can no longer be any question that he is an enthusiastic sponsor, if not the originator, of the idea.

The arms plan, according to former Secretary of State

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Byrnes, was spawned in the War Department while Marshall was Chief of Staff, and when the General succeeded Byrnes, he was clearly told by Under Secretary Acheson that the State Department had no use for the scheme at all. Originally, Byrnes had favored it, but he was easily persuaded by Spruille Braden, then Assistant Secretary, to oppose it on the basis not only of Argentina's untrustworthiness but of the competition and jealousies it would arouse and the intolerable financial burden it would impose on states hardly able to sustain their poor economies as it was, without having to engage in an armament race. Except for General Hilldring, this view was unanimously held by top officials in the department, but Marshall brushed aside the arguments and, unknown to Braden, directed his representative on the coordinating committee for State, War, and Navy to give the plan his approval. The interdepartmental committee then made a sly effort to ease the scheme through Congress, deliberately trying to keep publicity to a minimum. It was at this point that Braden, already sorely tried, gave up in disgust, resigned, and declined a choice of posts that would conveniently have removed him to the other end of the world.

WHAT was Marshall's objective in formulating policy for Latin America? He was eager, in the first place, to resolve the whole nagging quarrel with Argentina, which was not only diverting him from the more critical problems of Europe and Asia but endangering his Republican support in the Senate, where Vandenberg had long favored a rapprochement with Perón. Secondly, Marshall is still enough of an army man to see unity, at least in part, as a technical question of military synchronization. What good it would do us in an atomic or bacterial war to have Peru equipped with American M-1 rifles and Chile with American PT boats is entirely beyond me, but this would not be the first time that a future war had been planned with the last war's weapons.

It is held in some quarters that the whole arms plan is directed against the Soviet Union and that the weapons would serve to suppress Communist movements in Latin America. This might well be the effect, but if it is the purpose, it leaves a great deal out of account. Aside from strengthening the comparatively rich, anti-*yanqui*, and at least semi-fascist Argentine at the expense of its weaker neighbors, it assumes that the Perón regime can be counted on to side automatically with the United States in a showdown with Russia. Such an assumption completely overlooks the role which the Argentines have assigned to themselves and which is not to be taken lightly, however short of the mark they may fall.

Argentina today aspires to leadership, not merely of the Latin American countries, which would be nothing new, but of Latin countries everywhere. It sees itself as the center of a third bloc of nations, standing for "peace" and holding the balance of power between the capitalist-dominated states of the Protestant world and the Communist-dominated states of the Soviet orbit. It was this ambition, according to one of the keenest observers of Argentine affairs, that lay behind the trip of Señora Perón to Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, and the Vatican —a trip that coincided with the "continental peace resolution" circulated by Perón in this hemisphere.

Delusions of grandeur? Perhaps. But megalomania has an important place in the political world, as Hitler and Mussolini demonstrated, and it cannot be safely ignored. The Communists of Argentina are not ignoring it in the case of Perón. Whatever he may say of them—he is inconsistent on the subject—they fully support both his Five-Year Plan for industry and his "peace" policy, and they share his antipathy for the United States. John Herling reports in the August issue of *Harper's* that they are even "urging an alliance between Perón's labor federation and the C. T. A. L., the hemisphere labor organization run by Lombardo Toledano." And in return, the same writer says, the Argentine ambassador to Moscow recently went out of his way to express sympathy with the views of Henry Wallace and to suggest "that Roosevelt's policy toward Russia had been far preferable to Truman's." Asked at a press conference whether he believed an attempt would be made at Rio to outlaw communism throughout the continent, Foreign Minister Bramuglia replied, "Argentina, as a democratic nation, has no intention of outlawing communism." I cite these incidents merely to indicate that Vandenberg and others who would arm Argentina as an anti-Russian gesture are putting their money on what is at best a highly erratic entry. Neutrality and balance of power, not anti-Sovietism, are the keys to Argentine policy.

A much surer bet for combating communism would be economic assistance, comprehensive and well-planned, for the entire southern continent—a Marshall plan for the Americas. No one can take seriously President Truman's remark that we have had such a plan for a century and a half in the form of the Monroe Doctrine, and the United States delegation has had considerable trouble in its efforts to keep economic aid off the Rio agenda. The Argentine delegate gleefully introduced it before he had fairly stepped off the plane. Cuba, at this writing, threatens to force inclusion in the treaty of a clause directed against "economic aggression," meaning specifically our own restrictive sugar quota. And at least three other states favor an immediate economic conference.

SECRETARY MARSHALL was statesman enough to see that the problems of Europe could not be solved by piecemeal contributions and patchwork diplomacy. It is not too much to expect him to apply the same reasoning to the south. Even from a strictly military point of view, a collection of poverty-stricken, jealously in-

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triguing states armed with American weapons would be of far less help to us in the ultimate catastrophe of war than a continent equipped to supplement our industries and furnish its own adequate shipping. Marshall may succeed in postponing all economic discussion until the Bogotá meeting, but it would come as no surprise in Washington if, under pressure, he were to produce token Marshall plan, said to have been already worked out. If he does, he will not only steal a march on Perón but hold out hopes for Bogotá that cannot be matched by dangling before his fellow-conferees the prospect of standardized jeeps from Juarez to Tierra del Fuego.

India Grapples with Freedom

BY SHIVA RAO

Madras, August 14

TOMORROW India will split into two full-fledged dominions within the British Commonwealth. India proper will have a population of about 290,000,000; Pakistan will have 70,000,000. Some states, like Hyderabad and Kashmir, have not yet declared whether they will join one of the new dominions or remain independent. Nehru has made it clear that refusal to join will be regarded as an unfriendly act, and Mountbatten has tried to persuade recalcitrant princes to see the wisdom of joining.

Many of these princes are threatening to make nuisances of themselves, as Nehru bluntly said a month ago. Since the division of India has taken place, and the British withdrawal will be almost complete with the formal declaration tomorrow, princes like Nizam of Hyderabad are reviving old claims to territories such as Berar, which he ceded to the British some decades ago. Berar is a rich, cotton-growing region with a population of 4,000,000 virile Hindus who would rather fight than accept again the suzerainty of Nizam, a ruler with medieval conceptions of the relations between a prince and his people.

Nizam is not alone in pursuing former grandeur. Lesser princes, who have apparently decided to join the Indian union, have collected, during recent months, suspiciously large quantities of war material. They harbor strange notions of princely dignity and privilege. Autocracy dies hard, however much the princes may accept the outer forms of a democratic regime.

What makes these princes a formidable menace to India's infant democracy is that, with their considerable resources, they can find work for large numbers of demobilized soldiers who are desperately looking for employment. Over 1,500,000 of these men who helped the Allies win the war are today a danger to the establishment of democratic rule. They fought the war because they were paid well to do so; no high principles of liberty or freedom moved them. A demobilization officer once explained his difficulties to me. "These men," he said, referring, at the moment, to a unit which had been in Italy for two years, "they like Italian wives, dancing with Italian women, going to the cinema. How can they now go back to their Punjab villages, which have none of these attractions?" Demobilized soldiers, scattered throughout India, want work and adventure. Many princes can provide both, and arms in abundance.

That is one great danger. Another is the rapidly vanishing supply of food. Imports have been disappointing; Burma, normally our best supplier, is busy putting down gangsterism and cannot turn its attention to the export of rice. Our summer rains have been irregular and inadequate, and the forthcoming rice and maize crops will reveal a considerable deficit. Some provinces have a six weeks' supply; others, no more than three. The daily ration has been cut down to eight ounces; further reduction seems impossible. The appearance of famine conditions has been reported from three regions near Delhi. Summing up the food situation, a worried official used these words: "Like 1943 [meaning the Bengal famine] but on a more widespread scale." Late rains, even at this stage, may save the withering crops and provide water and fodder for cattle, but the new dominion governments, particularly Nehru's, will face a severe food crisis immediately after the assumption of office.

The lack of food won't be the only major problem. Cloth, salt, sugar, matches, and oil are all things India's millions want every day of their lives. They are equally difficult to obtain. Industrial workers impatiently demand decent living conditions and wages enabling them to meet the high prices of most commodities. The strike fever seems to be spreading; despite Nehru's insistence that industrial strikes, whatever the provocation, constitute "stabbing the country in the back." The peasant, groaning under the demands of the landlord and his agents, wants to know when the promise to abolish landlordism will be kept. Everywhere there is deep social and economic discontent which won't wait indefinitely or express itself wisely.

Mountbatten, foreseeing much of this months ago,

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decided upon an almost immediate British withdrawal, the final stage of which will be reached this week. The question is whether the two successor governments, India and Pakistan, can successfully tackle the situation, complex and difficult enough to tax all the resources of even a well-established administration. British withdrawal is taking place under circumstances of exceptional adversity.

IN THE course of my last dispatch, I hinted at the realignment of political forces which might result from the division. It is clearer now that the Hindu Congress and the Moslem League cannot command the allegiance of all their present followers for much longer. The Socialists, who have formed a dissatisfied group inside the Congress, are becoming increasingly critical and may decide to break away altogether. The Communists, whose relations with the Congress have been even more unstable, have built up for themselves an influence the precise measure of which will be revealed in the next general elections. They are likely to win a number of seats at the expense of the Congress.

The Moslem League, too, is showing signs of internal cleavage. The establishment of Pakistan has had unforeseen results. For 30,000,000 Moslems living in India proper Pakistan means no gain; on the contrary, they lose privileges like separate religious electorates and representation in the legislatures and permanent services in excess of their population ratio. The Pakistan Moslems can afford to divide on real issues. Thus, in the recent contest for leadership of Western Pakistan economic considerations were given prominence.

Bitterness caused by the division of India will not subside for some time. The new dominion governments will have their hands more than full, dealing with famine, the general shortage of consumer goods, and terrorist outrages. Later, when the worst of the present crisis has passed, it seems more than likely that the vested interests —the princes, big business, and the landlords—will make a determined attempt to capture the machinery of government. Nehru has vision, courage, and strong democratic convictions. So long as his leadership lasts, India's government cannot succumb to totalitarian influences. It is essential, therefore, that his Cabinet deal successfully with the urgent social and economic problems facing the country.

Regarding Pakistan, one cannot be equally sure. Jinnah will be governor-general and president of the Constituent Assembly; later he will also be president of Pakistan's Parliament. He will choose the members of his Cabinet and the governors of the provinces: in other words, Pakistan will be a dictatorship without concealment or apology. If Pakistan under Jinnah can solve its problems more effectively than India under Nehru's leadership, dictatorship will have established a strong claim to the allegiance of India's millions.

In the Wind

BY GOLLY," said the Candle, "it's Taft-Hartley Week." "By Golly," said the Wind, "but you're right. The Taft-Hartley law, to coin a word, goes into effect, to coin another, on Thursday, August 22. How shall we celebrate it?"

"I know," said the Candle. "I have just the thing. Leave us read aloud from Mr. Prentice and Mr. Hall's versatile promotion letters. It just so happens that I have three of them here in my tallow."

"Let's have a look," said the Wind. So they did:

I

The [Prentice-Hall] Labor Guide uncovers vital provisions in the new [Taft-Hartley] Law which the union official can turn to powerful advantage. It shows him how to use these provisions to offset legislative curbs and retain the gains his members now enjoy. It explains the methods you must use under the new Law to achieve Union Security, to gain new benefits, to step up Union finances.

The Labor Guide explains the impact of the new Law on your next contract. It tells you what to go after. It shows you how to cope with the new demands that Management will make. It tells you what preparations to make for that critical next bargaining session. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter for Prentice-Hall publications sent to union officials after passage of the Taft-Hartley act.

II

The new labor law gives you extraordinary advantages that you should prepare to grasp at once. . . . You're apt to miss its most powerful benefits unless you understand just what it means in terms of your own set-up.

We have prepared for Management the special kind of guidance it needs to reap the full benefit of this vital new law. . . .

You must get fully fortified now for your most difficult and your most fruitful bargaining session. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter; same company, same situation, but sent to business officials.

III

When this news [passage of the Taft-Hartley act] hit the front pages, one well-known lawyer immediately said: "This law will tend to remove the settlement of many industrial disputes from management and labor and *transfer them to lawyers*, the federal board, and the courts. . . ."

Yes, overnight it has dawned on a number of farsighted lawyers what the new labor law means in terms of new opportunities for them. . . .

Begin at once and ride the crest of the wave, because competition is still slight. . . .

—Extract from a promotion letter; still the same company and same situation, but sent to lawyers.

"You know," said the Candle, bemusedly, after they had finished, "I admire the enterprise of Prentice-Hall. They are trying to bring order out of confusion. So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

Upon which, the Wind snuffed him out.

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Poland Today

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Trade and Planning

Warsaw, August 3

SOVIET communism is totally unacceptable to the Polish people, and the Polish Communists know it as well as anybody. But there are certain features of Soviet organization and economy which they—and not only they—consider valuable in the process of rebuilding Poland. Large-scale nationalization was, in any case, inevitable in Poland, with immense amounts of all kinds of industrial property left ownerless after the war. Planning also was essential, and the planner-in-chief, Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry—who studied Russian methods during the war, adopting what was best and casting aside the more objectionable features of Soviet economy—is generally considered, even by his political enemies, one of the first-class brains in the Polish government.

The Three-Year Plan is harmonious, coherent, strictly within the limits of practical possibility, and neither too doctrinaire nor too rigid. Poland's economy is a blended economy, a combination of three "sectors"—the state sector, the cooperative sector, and the private sector. The transition to socialism is taking place by degrees; the government is not forcing the issue. Wholesale trade is largely in the hands of the cooperatives, and retail trade is in private hands; in both cases abuses are being fought. For example, when the government found that Spolem, the principal cooperative organization, was not coping adequately with grain purchases, a government body was set up which proceeded to deal directly with the local branches of Spolem and no longer with its central body. Similarly, in order to fight against excessive profiteering on the part of the private shopkeepers, the government has been setting up its own department stores in various towns—less as a socialization measure than as a warning and a price-regulating agency. As a result, there is a certain feeling of insecurity among all kinds of property holders: shopkeepers who dread price control or the competition of a government store, and house owners who fear requisitioning and billeting. But on the latter point full reassurance has been given, and, to encourage the private rebuilding of houses, landlords have been guaranteed against forced billeting. If you have the money, you can rebuild a six-room house in Warsaw and live there all by yourself.

On the whole, however, the consumer and not the shopkeeper or house owner may be considered the government's favorite. In dealing with the peasants the government has been very cautious; the highly unpopular forced-requisitioning system of 1945-46, painfully reminiscent of German occupation days, was abandoned at the first opportunity, and the peasant now receives the free-market price for his produce. It is impossible, however, to generalize about the peasantry. Some of them are very prosperous (partly as a result of years of profiteering); others, such as those I saw in the northern part of Warsaw province, scarcely make ends meet.

In an interview with Mr. Minc, I learned that, according to his estimates, the cost of living had gone up only about 30 per cent since 1945, and that the sharp speculative rise in prices last spring had been checked by drastic government action. He indicated that large-scale inflation had been avoided, but that, for the present, one could hardly speak of an "official" currency rate; the present rate of 100 zloty to the dollar—in contrast with a black-market rate of 700 or 800—had little relation to the price level. He said there would be no really official rate until stabilization was decided upon; this, it seems, will be done fairly soon.

THE Minister attached chief importance to industry. One of Poland's proudest achievements is its output of railway carriages at the rate of over 1,000 a month and of railway engines at nearly 20 a month. Poland's steel production was still small at just over a million tons a year, and some steel and iron ore would continue to come from Sweden and the Soviet Union. With the loss of Galicia, Poland would also fall short of self-support in petrol. At present the country's greatest international asset was coal; it was already producing coal at the rate of 57 or 58 million tons, and the interesting thing was that, with the growing industrialization and the geographic changes Poland had undergone, its home needs were far greater than before the war.

Russia, under the trade agreement with Poland, was receiving 6,500,000 tons of coal a year. In addition, Russia imported Lodz textiles and other smaller items from Poland, but of Poland's total foreign trade of $300,000,000 this year, less than one-third was with Russia. The coal margin left for export elsewhere was, Mr. Minc said, over 18,000,000 tons; of this, 3,000,000 went to Sweden, nearly 2,000,000 to Czechoslovakia, and smaller quantities to France, the other Scandinavian countries, Italy, and South America. And 250,000 tons would be sent to Britain. "Since 1945-46, when we traded almost exclusively with Russia and Sweden, the relative importance of our trade with Russia has greatly declined; our natural tendency is to exchange with East

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and West alike," Mr. Minc said. He failed, however, to mention one important aspect of trade with Russia, namely, that the Polish army is almost entirely supplied with Russian equipment, in the absence—for the present—of an appreciable Polish armaments industry.

That Mr. Minc desired large-scale trade "with East and West alike" he emphasized several times; and since then he has, indeed, gone to Paris to negotiate a new commercial agreement with France, "to make sure of another link with the West" as was widely remarked in Warsaw. When I saw him, he said: "We cannot go to the Paris meeting on the Marshall plan. But our refusal to go does not mean that our economic relations with the West have been severed. Far from it, we have no autarchist tendencies, either in terms of Poland or of some imaginary 'Eastern bloc.' We can contribute to Europe's recovery, but not on the basis of 'Germany first.' If we get credits to develop our agriculture and our coal industry, it will help all of Europe. We can export—and already have begun to do so—eggs, bacon, and dairy produce to Britain, with which we have a satisfactory though still a rather small trade agreement; we have a hard-working population, and the advantage of our state planning is its great flexibility. Our credit is good; we are essentially sound and credit-worthy."

For all that, Mr. Minc considered trade with Czechoslovakia and other countries of Eastern Europe important in a different way: this was trade based on "joint planning." The Polish-Czech trade agreement, which he had just signed, represented, he said, 10 per cent of all Poland's exports and 5 per cent of all Czechoslovakia's exports. The agreement, or rather agreements (for he had signed more than 600 different documents!), provided not for a simple exchange of goods but for overall cooperation between the industry and agriculture of the two countries, for technical cooperation and joint planning. A body would be set up to control the execution of the agreements. Czechoslovakia would have an outlet to the sea, along the Oder to Stettin. Mr. Minc stressed that what made such an agreement possible was (1) the parallel social changes in Poland and Czechoslovakia, with their emphasis on planning; (2) the alliance of March 10; and (3) the changes in the economic structure of the two countries. Before the war the Czechs constantly feared Polish agricultural competition; now that Poland's big rural areas in the east were lost, the countries were more alike, and instead of competition there could be fruitful exchanges.

[*Mr. Werth's next article will discuss Poland's political set-up and its relationship with Russia, the West, and the Vatican.*]

Tyranny in Action

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Jerusalem, August 17

THE British are determined not to get out of Palestine, not to permit the Jewish population to increase, and to destroy the Jewish community if that is necessary for the health and welfare of British interests in the Middle East. The most convincing proof of British intentions is the nature of the administration of the country. Today Palestine is purely and simply a police state. When Britain was named as the mandatory power for Palestine in 1920, it immediately replaced the military regime with a civil administration. At the end of World War II the order of events was reversed. Today the military authorities rule Palestine, while the High Commissioner is a figurehead. The existence of terrorism in Palestine is used by the mandatory power as a reason and excuse for the police measures employed, but the same officials who seek to justify their repressions admit that the vast majority of the Jewish community is against terror. All the official Jewish organizations, including the Agency and the Vaad Leumi, are determined to end it, but they believe they cannot do so as long as the British military authorities—like Franco in Spain—impose sanctions against whole communities or groups for the acts of a few individuals.

LILLIE SHULTZ, director of the Nation Associates, has left Palestine for Geneva, where the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine is preparing its report for the General Assembly.

As in most modern dictatorships, police control has been established by a series of regulations. The latest are the Emergency Defense Regulations of March 2, which established the General Officer Commanding as the real administrator of Palestine. The defense regulations of 1936 and 1937, on which the regulations of 1945 and 1947 have been based, were intended to protect the Jews, and the country in general, from recurrent Arab riots. The present regulations apply almost exclusively to Jews, although Jews are nowhere mentioned by name. In practice, they often receive the death penalty for crimes which carry a maximum sentence of five years' imprisonment for Arabs; where Jews get life imprisonment, Arabs usually get six months, rarely as much as a year.

The regulations wipe out all remnants of civil liberties,

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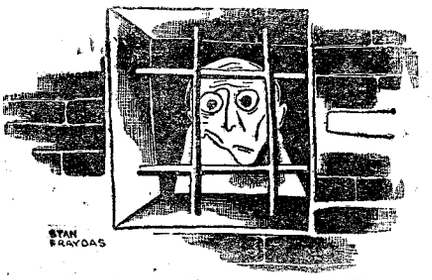
freedom of press, and of association. Their effect is to flood the country with fear, and to destroy the stated purposes of the mandate. They represent, moreover, a direct violation of the Order-in-Council of 1922-23, under which Palestine is supposed to be ruled. This order provided that no law shall be enacted which is inconsistent with the provisions of the mandate or which tends to discriminate among the inhabitants of Palestine on the grounds of race, religion, or language. Today 165 provisions of the recent Emergency Defense Regulations do precisely that. Violations of these emergency regulations are punishable by death, life imprisonment, fine, seizure, forfeiture, and demolition of property. Collective responsibility—a Nazi concept, universally condemned by civilized states—is imposed on towns, colonies, and organizations for acts committed or alleged to have been committed by any individuals within them.

A person may be punished without knowing he has broken a rule, since the code itself provides that new regulations may be issued orally. Although the authority who makes or issues an order may bring it to the attention of persons who, in his opinion, ought to have such information, failure to do so does not invalidate the regulation. Military courts have superseded civil courts in authority. They may try all cases, and must try certain cases. There is no appeal from a decision of a military court; not even the High Commissioner can overrule it. Reversing the common presumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty, the emergency regulations place the onus on the person accused. In Palestine today punishment is meted out to persons *suspected of having attempted to commit* an offense against public security, those *suspected of having committed* such an offense, and those *proved to have committed* such an offense.

UNDER the control of the General Officer Commanding is the police force. According to the regulations, any member of the military, any police officer, or any *mukhtar* may arrest, without warrant, any person he finds committing an offense against the regulations, or any person he suspects of so doing. Any member of the military may seize suspect goods, articles, or documents.

As for punishments, a judgment of death may be rendered for the discharge of a firearm at any person or group; the throwing or depositing of a bomb, grenade, or incendiary article with intention to harm; the carrying of firearms, ammunition, grenades, explosives, or incendiaries. Liable to the same sentence are all members of a group one or more of whose members have committed the foregoing offenses.

Other penalties prescribed by the emergency regulations include life imprisonment for the manufacture of arms; for endangering or being suspected of endangering the safety of any vessel, aircraft, harbor, pier, or any part of the communications system; for wearing any part of any uniform of His Majesty's service, or that of a foreign country, or anything likely to be mistaken for such. One can be jailed for five years for harboring a person wanted for any reason by the police or the military.



Great authority is vested in each military commander. He may requisition land, goods, animals, or services. He may direct the forfeiture of any house, structure, or land suspected of having arms discharged from it, and destroy the house and everything on the land. As a punitive measure, he may evict persons, seize and occupy property in any area, without compensation. His power over the individual is, in effect, absolute. A military commander may order any person placed under police supervision for a period of one year. The person is then required to remain within the area specified by the military commander; he must remain indoors, in his residence, from one hour after sunset until sunrise; he may be visited at any time by the police; on the call of the district police officer, he must go immediately to the nearest police station.

Special powers are given the High Commissioner. He may order statutory martial law for any designated control area. Under statutory martial law, the district commissioner is obligated to close every government office. Civil courts are adjourned and the military court tries all offenses. The military commander may shut down every bank, telephone, telegraph, and postal service in the area. Without his permission, no person, vehicle, or object may be taken out of the area.

The High Commissioner also has the power to order the requisition of any land required for military purposes, to seize the property of any person he thinks has committed or abetted in an offense. The owner, master, and agent of a vessel or aircraft are deemed to have abetted illegal immigration if they are proved to have been on board a vessel or aircraft carrying such immigrants. These officers, and anyone who harbors them or harbors an illegal immigrant, are subject to summary trial in a district court and eight years' imprisonment, or a fine of one thousand pounds, or both.

Censorship is applied energetically to newspapers and all other printed material. The censor may prohibit and, in fact, does prohibit publication of any matter he finds prejudicial to the public interest. In the case of a censored newspaper, the publisher may not indicate, without permission of the censor, what has been censored, omitted, or added.

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It was under the Emergency Defense Regulations that the arrests of June 29, 1946, were made. It was under these regulations that entire business centers and residential quarters in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv were requisitioned, thousands of persons compelled to leave their homes, and many business and professional people deprived of the means of livelihood. Under these regulations, martial law was declared in Tel Aviv and part of Jerusalem from March 2 to March 17. Under these regulations, 500 people were dragged from their houses on August 1 for screening purposes; the military demolished a house in Givat Shaul where arms were found on August 4; the High Commissioner banned the Brith Trumpeldor youth organization; thirty-five Jewish leaders were arrested on August 5. So constant are the searches that the army has recently put out a confidential manual, which I have seen, explaining how to conduct searches of village or settlement, quarter or town, single house, flat, group of houses or flats. This directive says, quite matter-of-factly: "So you see that you can arrest and search practically anyone behaving in a strange manner or whom you suspect, and, if you are wrong, it doesn't very much matter—the great thing is to act first and let questions be asked afterward."

THERE are about 718 Jewish "detainees" in Palestine and Kenya today—persons arrested and held for indeterminate periods. They are not charged with any specific offense; many have no idea why they are being held. Four hundred and sixty are in the Latrun camps, A and B; 40 are in Bethlehem; 280 in Kenya. In addition, there are at least 500 Palestinians under supervision who have to report to the police, usually once a day, frequently three times a day. These people are subject to rearrest every time an incident occurs. Among the inmates of the Kenya camp, there are some who have been detained for up to seven years, many from three to four years. Among them are seventy former soldiers, ten of whom were arrested while still in active service. Persons detained are not told why: the detention order merely states that the military commander considers their detention necessary for public order. As a rule they are informed that they are suspected of belonging to an illegal organization, without particulars or proof.

Frequently persons are arrested because of resemblance, in face or name, to a wanted person. A man named Moshe Alofia was detained at the beginning of 1946 and held for several months because he looked like a man wanted by the Criminal Investigation Department. Another time, all persons named Levy were held until the C. I. D. found the Levy they wanted! Persons acquitted in the courts are often rearrested. A man named Arie Horowitz was charged with carrying firearms in 1944. He was tried and acquitted. He was taken, none the less, into custody by the C. I. D., and sent to Eritrea; he was not released until 1946, after contracting a serious illness. Another man, Benjamin Atzit, was sentenced to prison in 1942 for carrying arms. On March 3, 1946, he completed his term. Immediately upon his release, he was taken into custody and sent to Latrun.

Among the detainees are ex-members of the A. T. S. and the W. A. A. F. who were detained immediately upon their discharge from service. Their records, which I have seen, were either exemplary or good. Some of these girls have been in Bethlehem prison for two, three, and four years. Boys of thirteen to sixteen have been arrested, most of them for distributing leaflets, and some have been in detention for six or seven years. Pregnant women and mothers of numerous children have also spent extended periods at Latrun.

The only recourse a detained person has is to apply to an advisory committee whose function under the regulations is to make recommendations to the military commander. Since April, however, there has been no committee at all. Even before that, neither the detainee nor his lawyer was ordinarily interviewed by the committee; it sat in secret and decided the case, in consultation with the police, on the basis of the police file. In a few exceptional instances, detainees appeared before the committee or, more frequently, the secretary of the committee interviewed the detainee. But it took, on the average, between four and six months for any case to reach the committee.

CONDITIONS in the camps are poor. Food is insufficient and inferior. The detainees are required to cook their own meals. All food supplements must come from their own families. In the event of illness, hours pass before an ambulance arrives. If hospitalization is recommended, detainees must wait until there is a vacancy at the government hospital in Jerusalem. They spend the waiting time in the central prison in Jerusalem. While in a hospital, the detainee is chained to a bed.

The camps lack any sort of cultural provisions; no newspapers, books, films, or lecturers are available. No cigarettes are supplied. No sheets are issued. Clothes are scarce. The detainee is not permitted to engage in gainful labor or learn a trade. He is allowed to send one letter a fortnight. Letters are delayed by the C. I. D. for as long as three weeks, and the detainee must pay for his letter paper and postage. A single visitor's permit is granted, once a month, to the closest relative. During a visit, guest and detainee stand separated by a barbed-wire fence. The detainee is not permitted to be with his family on special occasions, such as births or deaths.

The record cited above is the clearest declaration of the intentions of the mandatory power. But Britain and the world may be sure of one thing. The Jewish community will resist. Neither its strength nor its fighting spirit should be minimized.

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Self-Portrait of Germany — *Del Vayo*

THIS column has occasionally quoted the French monthly, *Esprit*. Here is a review that admirably lives up to its title; edited by a group of Catholic writers, it is one of the most intelligent publications of the new Europe. *Esprit* speaks for the enlightened, liberal Catholics of France—such men as Jacques Maritain, Georges Bernanos, Foreign Minister Bidault, and Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris—most of whom, unlike their American confrères, supported the cause of the Republic throughout the Spanish War.

The scholarly and authoritative fashion in which *Esprit* has, in successive issues, examined the political problems of the postwar world makes it required reading for those who want to understand the trend of European thinking today. Several months ago, I was amused to see an article of mine in *The Nation,* discussing Europe's new concepts of democracy, bitterly attacked by Edgar Mowrer in the New York *Post*. He accused me of drinking from Communist wells; actually my piece was based on a special study which *Esprit* had made of this particular subject.

The June issue of *Esprit* is entirely devoted to the German question. It is a special number, almost book size—75,000 words—composed exclusively of articles by Germans. This is no narrow survey written by intellectuals for intellectuals, but rather an *enquête unique* in which men of diverse, indeed diametrically opposed, social and political views were asked to interpret the Germany of 1947.

The study falls into eight parts: 1. States of mind; 2. Memoirs of Nazism; 3. Is Germany guilty? 4. Complaints of the occupied; 5. Is Germany democratic? 6. German youth; 7. Christianity and the churches; 8. Lines of the future: Germany, France, Europe.

Reading through the pages attentively, I came to three conclusions. First, there is ample justification for the repeated warnings of those who believe that the possibility of a fascist revival in Europe, with Germany as its center, is far more real and menacing than it was two years ago. Second, if the United States has no intention of using a fascist Germany against Russia or of promoting the creation of a fascist Germany, then its policy of preventing a thorough purge of Nazi elements is one of the most tragic blunders of our time. Third, there is still a chance—though time is running short—to build a democratic Germany. That can be done, however, only through active assistance to anti-fascist elements, destruction of fascism's capitalist underpinnings, nationalization of industry, strengthening of the workers' political role; in a word, through a policy directly contrary to that now being pursued by General Clay.

Esprit's survey establishes conclusively the continued existence of German fascism. "We cannot deny the sad truth," writes Walter Kosack of Strendlingen-am-Rhein, "the lying propaganda of the Nazis is still alive among a large section of the population and is bearing fruit. The Nazis continue to exercise their corrupting influence everywhere because the political purge was never carried through effectively." From Georg Reichardt of Bingen comes the warning: "If the Allies were to withdraw from Germany today, the old Nazi spirit would quickly take the ascendency." These are the voices of honest German anti-fascists who are not afraid to look squarely at the facts. But listen to the statements of avowed Nazis—discreet enough, however, to leave their articles unsigned: "A good German cannot but be a National Socialist. After 1933, things went better in every domain."

In Germany today, the struggle is still between an anti-fascist minority, made up of the survivors of the concentration camps and emigrés who have returned home in the past two years, and an aggressive Nazi minority. Between the two, stands the mass of Germans, largely indifferent, without a fixed political horizon, easy prey for a new *führer* of any political stripe who will show them the road back to national grandeur. A year ago, this intermediate mass was still a factor that could only acquire real significance in the degree to which the relations between the big powers deteriorated. Then came the light—not from the East, as in the Bible, but from Washington, where President Truman emerged as a present-day Archangel. Since his speech of March 12, these millions of Germans, who might have been steered into democratic paths by an intelligent Anglo-American policy, have recovered their confidence and are beginning to look upon their nation no longer as an appendage but rather as the central force in Europe. The most militant see the possibility of winning the war Hitler lost by offering themselves as shock troops in the next conflagration. Little matter if the ideal of the Master Race must, for the moment, be abandoned while they go into battle under the orders of a superior Anglo-Saxon high command; the very fact of being accepted into the Western camp is, for them, the first step in Germany's return to its former rank as a major power. What otherwise might take fifty years of painful, uphill struggle could be accomplished overnight, should President Truman declare: "I request the Congress to recognize a state of war between the United States and Russia." It is for this moment that many of these Germans live.

Esprit has made no discoveries; it has simply furnished documentary proof of facts generally recognized by serious students of Germany. Returning last week from a visit to the American zone of occupation, Nathan Straus, former United States Housing Administrator, said: "The Germans dream of two things—enough to eat and a war between the United States and Russia."

War need not come. Indeed, I am persuaded that the masses of people everywhere will make a conflict between East and West impossible. But the damage done by the policy of nourishing Germany's dream of power and thwarting the efforts of its small democratic minority will be more difficult to repair.

[*Mr. del Vayo left for Paris last week and will cover the most important European developments between now and the September meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Local Ibsen

IBSEN: The Intellectual Background. By Brian W. Downs. Cambridge University Press. $3.25.

DURING the last ten or fifteen years, the reputation of Ibsen seems to have been passing successfully through its dangerous age. There was a time when it looked as though his plays were getting to be outmoded, and as though they could never again be anything else. Obviously, his "social problems" were hopelessly dated, and yet it was upon the timeliness of these same problems that his earliest admirers had based their praise. Even in the commercial theater, however, "Hedda Gabler," "The Wild Duck," and even "Ghosts" never died as it seemed they ought to die, and gradually it has been admitted that Ibsen, in his queer, heavy, sometimes graceless, Northern way is some kind of a classic—partly because of his sheer dramatic effectiveness, more because his situations have more continuously interesting implications than the earlier Ibsenites realized.

Brian Downs's short but solid and impressive little book pretty much takes for granted what has just been said. It is not primarily an interpretation of Ibsen's modern meaning, but a scholarly investigation of a question which is made interesting by the assumption that Ibsen is now a classic: namely, what were the local circumstances surrounding the development of his style and his intentions? That this question has never been satisfactorily discussed before may seem strange, but I do not think that it has, even in Koht's standard two-volume biography, and there is an intelligible reason why it has not. Neither the literature nor the social and political history of Scandinavia had, in themselves, any great interest for the Europe which suddenly discovered, in Ibsen's plays, a breathless excitement. The very fact that the author seemed to spring full blown out of nowhere made him all the more impressive and all the more easily acceptable as an international prophet. Bernard Shaw, to take an example, had not the slightest interest in what Ibsen's origins were or, for that matter, in what Ibsen himself intended. He was interested only in what he could make Ibsen seem to mean, and, to some extent, that has been the attitude of most of those who have written about him either as prophet or as playwright. Now Mr. Downs, who is described on the title page as "Sometime Director of Scandinavian Studies" at Cambridge, comes along and brings to bear upon the subject an immense, detailed knowledge of the literary, social, and political background against which Ibsen's career developed. He provides Ibsen with a local habitation and a name which he has never before had.

It may be argued, of course, that much of what Mr. Downs has to say is irrelevant, so far as any understanding of what Ibsen, the classic, does and can mean. It is the European Ibsen, not the Norwegian Ibsen, who is really important. Hedda Gabler is now a myth, not a realistic character in a setting abundantly supplied with local color. With only a tolerable degree of exaggeration, it might be said that to point out, as Mr. Downs does, that most English productions of "Hedda Gabler" grossly misrepresent the heroine's social and economic status, is as irrelevant as a criticism of "Hamlet" based on a knowledge of what medieval Denmark was really like. But the facts about a first-rate writer have an interest in themselves; they often throw light, at unexpected moments, upon important questions of interpretation; and the author of the present work certainly makes no claims which his exposition does not abundantly justify.

As a matter of fact, almost every chapter of his book is both interesting in itself and, in one way or another, illuminating. If it did no more than dissipate the false Shavian image—which has so often confused English and American readers attempting the task, sufficiently difficult in itself, of penetrating Ibsen's deliberate ambiguities—it would be rendering a real service. Actually, it does that and a great deal more. It manages to distinguish clearly the limited, actual, local Ibsen, not only from the late nineteenth century liberal's image of what he hoped he was, but also from the potentially enduring classic which he has now become. Much of what Mr. Downs has to reveal about Ibsen's attitude toward sexual love, free will, "the claims of the ideal," the hero as man of will, and so forth, are extremely interesting. The present fashion

Under Cover

Put it away in that building; rust and dust
And rats are there, and spiders, and dry rot;
But the roof is good, and so those two great robbers,
Rain and sun, will go and hunt elsewhere;
And so gravedigger time—old naked time
That moves without a shadow—he'll creep on
To things no hand has hidden. Lay it away,
For that is what men do. Time, sun, and rain
Would have all earth as one—look how they soak
And wither, and sink hugest hugest objects in.
Even dark buildings; but forget, forget.
Think only of the open, and how smooth
Time keeps it with his tools of wet and dry.
Even stout rooftrees; but repair them now.
The difference between late death and soon
Is inches, time will mumble; yet men know
How golden is that space, how not to be spared.

MARK VAN DOREN

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being what it is, his chapter on Ibsen and Kierkegaard will probably be considered especially significant. It seems, if the necessary oversimplification is permissible, that while "Brand" is a protest against Kierkegaard's demand for Christian martyrdom, "Peer Gynt" is a protest against those who failed to recognize just how close to martyrdom one ought to be willing to come. And that is exactly what might be expected of a writer whose dying words are said to have been: "On the contrary."

Mr. Downs's book is only 182 pages long, and yet it is packed with fact and comment to the point where it requires the closest attention from the reader That alone is probably sufficient to limit its audience very severely. But it is one of the indispensable books for anyone who seriously wants to understand its subject. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

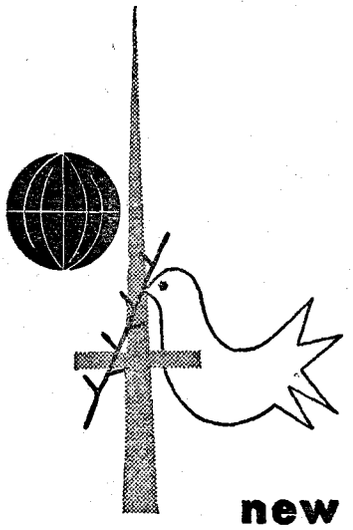
Appeasers Please Note

DESIGN FOR AGGRESSION. The Inside Story of Hitler's War Plans. By Peter de Mendelssohn. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THERE is some talk that the evidence submitted at the Nürnberg trials will eventually be published in full, but no perceptible progress is being made in that direction. Meanwhile, the excellent summary prepared by Mr. de Mendelssohn is an invaluable demonstration of just what the Nazis were up to from 1937 to 1941, when they put "Operation Barbarossa," the invasion of the Soviet Union, into effect.

The crucial date was February 2, 1941, when Hitler and his army chiefs, disregarding the protests of Räder and the navy, decided to settle accounts with Stalin without waiting to knock Great Britain out of the war. This meant, as was conceded by the army high command, that "from now on 'Attila' [the seizure of French North Africa] can be carried out only under difficulties; 'Felix' [the march through Spain on Gibraltar] is now no longer possible because the artillery set aside for it is needed in Russia; and 'Sea-Lion' [the invasion of Britain] can no longer be carried out." Hitler asked if the army could spare an armored division to halt the British advance in Libya and was told that it could be supplied "most unwillingly" from "Marita" (name of the Yugoslav invasion), and that "Barbarossa" also was in need.

Only the documents and parts of documents that the prosecutors placed in evidence were available to Mr. de Mendelssohn; a definitive account of Hitler's designs will have to wait until the others are finally released. But it is possible here to follow in detail the shifts in Nazi policy: as an example, Hitler intended originally to polish off Czechoslovakia first and then take over Austria. His failure to invade England after the collapse of France appears to have been due to his belief that the



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U-boat would do the job rather than to any real expectation that the British would ask for peace out of sheer desperation.

It is instructive to read the exact operational plan produced when it became apparent that there would have to be an invasion of England; there were to be two army groups, totaling eleven infantry and two mountain divisions, with six armored divisions, two motorized divisions, and one S. S. division to follow up the original landings in the south. But it is even more instructive to read the 1938 documents, in which we see that the Nazis had a mere handful of troops and planes to back up the unfinished West Wall in the days of Munich.

The German documents themselves are the final indictment of the appeasers. Thanks to Hitler's folly in invading Russia and the folly of the Japanese in attacking the United States that same year, the Allies won the war. But appeasement cost the world tens of millions of lives, and left a heritage of distrust between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies which has a good deal to do with the unquiet nights of the post-war era. Mr. de Mendelssohn, in fact, believes that, from Munich on, Stalin was convinced that he could not rely on the Western powers, and that Chamberlain and Daladier thus made the Soviet-Nazi deal of 1939 inevitable.

Since the author has restricted himself to the Nazis' own records, the reader has to supply most of the background information, but without this limitation the study would have reached unmanageable proportions.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Russia in Brief

RUSSIA. A Short History. By Helen Gay Pratt and Harriet L. Moore. The John Day Company. $4.

FIRST issued ten years ago under the auspices of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, this book now reappears with some revisions and two additional chapters by Miss Moore which bring it up to date. As the centuries prior to 1914 are disposed of in 101 of the book's 261 pages, its original title, "From Tsarist Empire to Socialism," was really more descriptive. For a history of Russia which is well rounded as well as short, the reader must look elsewhere. Within their self-imposed limitations, however, the authors have done an interesting job, making good use of documentary and literary material. Their approach to the Soviet Union is warmly sympathetic, so much so that they slide very gingerly over such thin ice as the German-Soviet Pact of 1939. On the other hand, they have not followed the party line by rewriting history to support the Stalinist myth. Thus Trotsky is given credit for his part in creating the Red Army and smashing the counter-revolution and not treated as the man who wasn't there in 1917.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Fiction in Review

THE STEEPER CLIFF" by David Davidson (Random House, $3) is not the distinguished literary performance it is being said to be. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic reception it has received can be read as one of the happier signs of the times. It must mean that we are at last ready to be told that all Germans need not be either anti-Nazi angels or, on the other hand, Nazi devils; that a great many of them are only ordinary people like us Americans —now capable of a shining moment of heroism, now weak and frightened, for the most part torn between their ideals of decency and their natural instinct to easy survival. "The Steeper Cliff" is about an American officer obsessed with the problem of personal bravery who, assigned to find Germans to staff the new democratic newspapers in our occupied zone, begins to identify himself with a missing journalist whose conduct under fascism seems to parallel what his own would have been in similar circumstances. The research into the career of this unknown German provides the dramatic suspense of Mr. Davidson's story and leads his hero to several important conclusions. He learns that courage is not an absolute, as he had always believed, but that it is still a reality, and a good reality. He learns that even a brave person is not necessarily brave all the time. He eventually comes to understand that although it was far better to fight Nazism than to be passive under it, it is not always given to the individual to be as strong as he would wish to be; and that only to aid and approve Nazism was to be guilty of an absolute wickedness. He discovers, in other words, that we must judge Germans as human beings.

Nowadays, this is an unusually decent lesson for a novel to teach. "The Steeper Cliff" is also unusually interesting as a piece of reporting: here is a first-hand account, with a sharp ring of authenticity, of Germany under American occupation. Beyond this, except to say that the book sustains a nice narrative excitement, I cannot go. Mr. Davidson is obviously aware of the rich texturing of our lives but he is not yet able to recreate this richness in his writing.

"The Eagle on the Plain" by Victor Wolfson (Simon and Schuster, $2.75) is a novel on two levels. It is, first, a folk story of life in a poor little backroads community in the Catskills; as such, it has many of the charms of tall-tale telling but also many of the sentimentalities that seem inevitably to accompany our literary excursions into "simple" society. Then it is a fable of freedom, a fable at once truly touching and uncomfortably inflated. As symbol of the unfettered human spirit, Mr. Wolfson chooses a young Italian-American boy, son of a rural bootlegger, the fulfillment of whose dream of glory—to be a popular ballad singer—is interrupted by a brush with the law. Instead of submitting to imprisonment, this appealing youngster organizes his old neighbors and friends, all of them as touched with the genius of individualism as himself, to make a large if hopeless gesture against the restricting authorities of modern life: they blow up roads and a dam, rocking the Catskills with their call to freedom. Treated realistically, the story of Mr. Wolfson's young captive might have had considerable dramatic power. Handled as it is in "The Eagle on the Plain," half realistically and half as fantasy, it loses weight both as psychological drama and as a parable of social protest.

"The Other Room" by Worth Tuttle Hedden (Crown, $2.75) is an odd, rather inept novel about the Negro problem by the author of the lively "Wives of High Pasture" of a few seasons ago. Straining probability, a young Virginia girl accepts a job teaching in

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a New Orleans college without knowing that it is a colored school. Instead of running home, however, she stays to learn some basic truths about the colored people, and to fall in love with one of the Negro instructors. The worthiness of its purpose and especially the courage with which it handles the theme of miscegenation makes one wish "The Other Room" were a better book —a novel with more skill in narrative, less time out for instruction, and more depth of characterization. The subject of Negro-white relations would seem to have reached the point, so far as fiction is concerned, where good-will without art is almost as dismaying as art without good-will.

If, like myself, you have enjoyed Christine Weston's stories in the *New Yorker,* you will be glad to find them collected, with a few additions, in a volume "There Then" (Scribner, $2.50). None of these pieces reaches the standard set by Mrs. Weston's "Indigo"; inevitably, the brief form places its restrictions upon the kind of insight and breadth of feeling Mrs. Weston could show in that long novel. But even these short sketches—they are all of them about India—have a sympathy and a place-evoking quality that sets them quite apart from most *New Yorker* fiction.

DIANA TRILLING

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO very good books by Francis Toye have been reissued: his "Rossini" (Knopf, $3.50) and his "Verdi" (Knopf, $5). I have the impression that they are reissued without any change in the original text; but "Verdi" comes this time with an introduction by Herbert Weinstock for which I believe the correct term is gratuitous. That is, it says little about the author and his book, and nothing about them that is illuminating, but says a great deal instead —pretentious in tone, wooden and confused in statement—about the ideas on biography which Mr. Weinstock misuses the occasion to intrude into the book.

He would have it that a composer's music can be neither rightly performed nor rightly understood without knowledge of his life. The printed score alone is not sufficient to give anyone real and complete understanding of a Mozart symphony—for example the great E-flat Symphony. "To become intimate with its inmost nature . . . he must also know under what circumstances, at what stage in its creator's development, and in what sort of emotional weather it was composed. The most fastidiously written-out score is no more than an outline: it must be filled in with the life-giving element called style. More about the style required for . . . performance of the E-flat Symphony is to be learned from . . . studies of Mozart than from . . . hours spent with a score of the symphony."

Actually a performer or listener comes to the score of Mozart's E-flat Symphony only after having heard it performed; it is from this experience of the work as realized from the score in performance that he has derived what enables him to fill in the outline of the printed score himself; it is from this experience also that he has derived, and continues to develop, his understanding of the symphony; and study of the score now enables him to enrich that understanding with appreciation of detail. I cannot see knowledge of the composer's life contributing much in all this; certainly it did not give Mr. Weinstock himself, in his "Men of Music," any understanding of Mozart's E-flat Symphony: I am unable, at the moment, to verify my recollection that he characterized it as "gay and inconsequential"; but if I'm wrong about the words I'm sure I'm not wrong about the idea. Nor did his biographical researches give him any greater understanding of Schubert's great C major Symphony.

At the end Mr. Weinstock asks us, the next time we hear the operas, to see whether our reading of Mr. Toye's account of Verdi's life doesn't give new meanings to *Caro nome* from "Rigoletto" and the Prelude to Act 3 of "La Traviata." Nothing seemed less probable; nevertheless I tried the experiment, and report failure. And Mr. Toye himself, I might add, makes no such connections between Verdi's life and his works.

I don't want to be misunderstood: the whole man certainly is involved in the composer's creation of his music; and nothing would be more fascinating than a pointing out in Mozart's E-flat or Schubert's C major Symphony of how the whole Mozart or Schubert is involved. But the fact is that Sullivan's "Beethoven" is the only successful thing of its kind; and the danger in attempts

3 exciting articles in the current issue of Commentary

Hollywood Fights Prejudice

Can the Movies Help Cure Anti-Semitism?

In "Letter to the Movie-Makers" Elliot E. Cohen analyzes the movie *Crossfire* and points out the possible dangers in its treatment of the problem of race prejudice, suggesting how such dangers might be avoided. An especially timely contribution to current thinking in view of the forthcoming production of *Gentleman's Agreement* and other anti-bias films.

Tired Radicals

Is There Something Worth Fighting For?

Yes, says Lewis Corey in "Economic Democracy Without Statism." Democracy can plan better than totalitarianism and bring a more abundant life without surrender of our liberties.

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How Do They View the Future?

A keen observer reports on a six-months' study of D. P.'s and repatriated Jews in "Europe's Jews: Summer 1947" by David Bernstein.

...also in this issue:

"The Aims of British Foreign Policy" by C. Hartley Grattan; "Scandal on an Island" or the "Strange Case of the Reverend Guldberg" by Solomon F. Bloom; "Racism and America's World Position" by Carl Dreher; "The Adventures of Ilya Ehrenburg" by Martin Thomas; "Heine's Religion" by Leo Lowenthal; "Diagnosing the German Malady" by Samuel J. Hurwitz; Fiction; Poetry; Book Reviews.

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at the kind is illustrated by Edward Lockspeiser's chapter on Tchaikovsky the man in "The Music of Tchaikovsky" edited by Gerald Abraham (Norton, $3.75). It is a psychiatrically acute analysis of certain unpleasantly neurotic tendencies in Tchaikovsky, which are correlated with faults in his music; but it has nothing to say about what in Tchaikovsky the man must have had something to do with the likewise unmentioned strong points of his music.

The other chapters are written by a number of men, each discussing Tchaikovsky's methods and results in one of the categories of his works. Most of them are neither as good as Mr. Abraham's own chapter on the operas nor as bad as Erik Blom's on the concertos; and one difficulty with some of the good ones—for example, the Soviet Russian writer A. Alshvang's chapter on the songs—is that they offer pages and pages of detailed discussions of music one hasn't heard, which are therefore meaningless. (The Soviet censor's stamp, so to speak, is Alshvang's statement that Tchaikovsky, "never sank into somber abysses of despair in his creative work. He constantly strove toward an optimistic acceptance of life," and that his "tragic characters always adopt a positive attitude towards life.")

In "The Music of Schubert" (Norton; $3.75) Kathleen Lane's chapter on the piano music reveals a fantastic lack of understanding—as, for example, in this description of the hair-raising middle section of the slow movement of the posthumous A major Sonata: ". . . a lively episode, which, with its rushing scales, resonant tremolandos, and trills, belongs more correctly to a *divertisement à la hongroise* than to a sonata movement." J. A. Westrup's chapter on the chamber music isn't much better; but Alec Robertson's on the songs is more perceptive; and Mosco Carner's on the orchestral music is superb.

Letters to the Editors

A Free Translation

Dear Sirs: A long time ago, Hesiod wrote a book called "Works and Days," in which he excoriated the parasitism of his day. The following is a free translation of the theme with an eye to the present:

Once upon a time
There was a race of men
Living in the slime
Like pigs in a pen;
Today they're in penthouses
Drinking and drunk
Living like louses
In the pelt of a skunk.

MARTIN WOLFSON

Brooklyn, August 7

By His Own Words

Dear Sirs: In your July 26 issue, Maynard Kniskern takes J. M. Martinez to task for considering M. Jacques Maritain a reactionary. He respectfully refers Martinez to Maritain's "True Humanism." What, I wonder, is Mr. Kniskern's definition of a reactionary? Is it "one who favors a movement towards a former political or social policy"? If so, has he read "True Humanism"?

In that book, as elsewhere, Maritain certainly displays a deep nostalgia for "a former social policy," namely that of the Middle Ages. He holds that "nowadays we can be terribly envious" of the medieval "consecrational" polity, "the mighty and sublime, too great and too sublime, conception of the medieval papacy in the days of its plenitude" (pp. 141 f.). . . .

Maritain agrees that we cannot now reestablish such a happy, terribly enviable condition. But we could start out, he thinks, with a "true humanism," a state of affairs in which a new "Christian commonweal" is set up, which "in order to avoid greater evils . . . could and should tolerate (to tolerate is not to approve) ways of worship more or less distant from the truth" [obviously, Catholicism] (p. 160). The state would collaborate with the church, as an agent of a higher order, and assist it "in the fulfilment of its rightful mission"—e.g., in education (pp. 172 f.). This state would "not in the least demand *in its beginning* a profession of faith in the whole of Christianity from each man" (p. 200; my italics), but out of it, it seems, there might one day arise a new "consecrated Christian" culture (p. 204). Would not the "evil" of toleration, in that day, be excised? Would it not again become "appropriate" (p. 172) to use force to "protect the faith and the community against disintegrating influences" and normal for crowds to lynch heretics by "natural impulse" (p. 173)? In other words, would not "the mighty and sub-

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lime conception of the medieval papacy in the days of its plenitude" be in a good way at last to be realized? In "Scholasticism and Politics" Maritain says that "new humanism" ought to "create something new in relation to these five centuries behind us," namely, "reassume in a purified climate all the work of the classical period"—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 9). Does this, or does it not give grounds for the belief that Maritain "favors a movement towards a former political or social policy"—and is, accordingly, a reactionary? AD. HAENTZSCHEL

Valparaiso, Indiana, August 9

A Gratuitous Generalization?

Dear Sirs: In the review of my book, "Treason's Peace," Mr. C. A. Welsh makes the statement that my perspective is defective in that I incorrectly impute many disjunctive circumstances to an I. G. Farben influence or formula.

The reviewer thus alleges as a fact this disparagement which, as he does not cite any examples, discredits any or all of the entire series of pictures of the pattern of I. G. Farben's hidden influence inside this country. Obviously, he must have in mind numerous passages in the book which he believes justify his allegation. But he has not mentioned a single such passage.

In comment upon this gratuitous generalization, as an attack upon the integrity of my work, I suggest that Mr. Welsh appears not to have read my preface which states clearly that its chapters are not, as he incorrectly says, largely concerned with "Farben's influence in American industry," but cover the very much larger pattern of "the shadowy designs that repeatedly have come up through the fabric of our industrial, social, and political life—an interlocking design of espionage, sabotage, and corruption."

I hereby challenge Mr. Welsh to point out the specific examples which he alleges are incorrectly included by me to picture some aspect of those designs. HOWARD W. AMBRUSTER

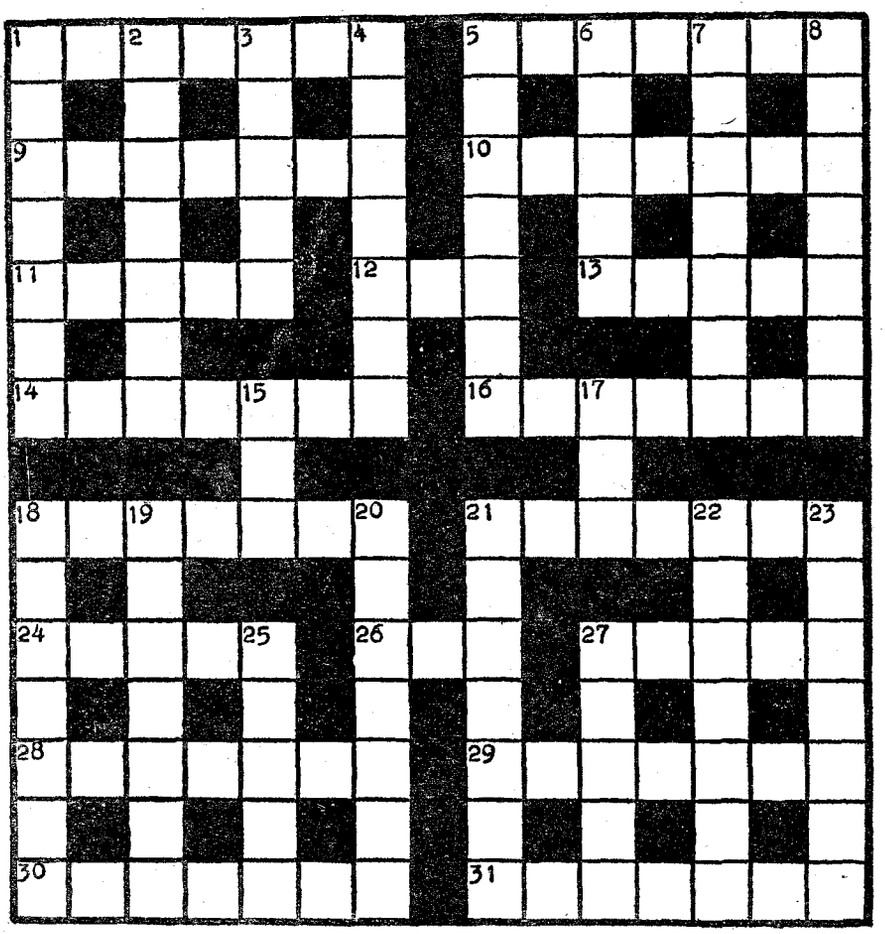
Westfield, New Jersey, July 21

Gratuitous Irrelevancies?

Dear Sirs: Reaction which criticism evokes from authors who have submitted their wares for public inspection is rarely impartial. This particular response is no exception.

It is absurd, of course, for Mr. Ambruster to suggest that I have made "an

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 225 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the third of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

1 Indigestion for bolters
5 The elder M.D. was merely a kibitzer in the case
9 The kiln is set in red heat
10 Religious converts should have no vices
11 The senior makes a crooked grimace about his low mark
12 The war god out on a limb
13 Rustics befuddled on lotus
14 Slave's changed status makes him stare wildly in envy
16 Mr. Serge increases his corporation with these
18 Diffuse earthquake could make this orb melt
21 Put the head in upper case slanted type
24 Annual loss can destroy a marriage
26 Breathing space
27 A pigeon in the grass, alas
28 Though obviously normal, Miss Vague can be upset in a year
29 What the French write with *clarité*
30 They find mad peril among the SS
31 Wanderers of the wasteland

DOWN

1 S (this definition is liberal enough as a gift)
2 Dweller in the arbored home
3 Musical coach
4 Artie is beaming around a flustered Diana
5 The least Mrs. Mickey can do is proceed with silence
6 Underground chief
7 Reel cut disorganizes the speaker's show
8 Sister's under the skin
15 All that I live by is with the ---..., — *Julius Caesar*
17 A wool sock
18 A liar is tumbled in a vat for his pains
19 ------- makyth man
20 Come croppers
21 Freebooter with the vulgar manner
22 Sweet in the morning becomes Electra
23 Slender purse stretchers
25 Comfort after fifty is in the contract
27 Lucifer match

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 224

ACROSS:—1 KALANDER PRINCE; 9 DECANTS; 10 INDENTS; 11 AWNING; 12 POTATOES; 14 CRIBBED; 15 PEDAL; 17 DIARY; 19 READERS; 21 OPTICIAN; 23 WITHER; 25 BENGALI; 26 PIERROT; 27 GOOD INTENTIONS.

DOWN:—1 KIDNAPPED; 2 LACONIC; 3 NONENTITY; 4 EAST; 5 PRIMORDIAL; 6 INDIA; 7 CONCORD; 8 ISIS; 13 ABERRATION; 15 PRESIDENT; 16 LACERATES; 18 ANTONIO; 20 SCHERZO; 21 ORBS; 22 CHARD; 24 APSE.

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attack upon the integrity of [his] work." Had this been my purpose, I would have written a far different review.

Mr. Ambruster himself selected one of the points which seem to me to weaken the book. First, he is utterly monistic in analyzing the causes of what he describes as "the shadowy designs that have repeatedly come up through the fabric of our industrial, social, and political life." This is a tendency of the specialist, and accounts for the foreshortened perspective noted. Moreover, it is questionable literary taste, at least for a book of this nature, to hinge in so many places upon the gratuitous "I told you so's" which, in many instances, are irrelevant to anything but personal history. At numerous points throughout the book, the author's own letters are introduced as evidence and, while they may be of autobiographical interest, they could scarcely be said to represent objective scientific data anent the problem with which the book deals. Inevitably, the clarity of perspective suffers from the confusion of personal and historical events, especially since scant differentiation in the relative importance of the two strata of material is made.

There are other elements which seem to me to weaken the book, but without detracting from it as a document of interest, such as the eschewal by the author of the most important problem which the book defines: how to counteract and forestall the influence without which Farben's plans could not have been feasible. The author, as I said in my review, may be credited with "direct and intimate acquaintance with nearly every phase of his subject"—but scarcely with omniscience, and hardly with analytical perspicacity or literary grace in evaluating so important a part of modern economic history. C. A. WELSH

Arlington, Virginia, August 5

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